1: Nachtigall--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Foreword by the Editor

● 124

This second volume of our series of studies contains a portion of the research which my collaborator, Dr. Horst Nachtigall, was able to carry out in 1952/53 in Colombia. The volume testifies to the fact that our scientific work at the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz is not limited to desk research. Rather, we endeavor, in keeping with the scope of the problems in our field, to gather new observations in various parts of the world through fieldwork and in this way to help fill the large gaps in our knowledge of peoples living close to nature. Such research must necessarily also extend to the prehistoric evidence of human culture in the areas visited. Thanks to his extensive preoccupation with the special field of pre- and ancient history, Dr. Nachtigall was in a position to obtain the present material from the Colombian archeological province of Tierradentro.

Being occupied myself at the present time with ethnographic work in another corner of the world, I am particularly happy about the publication of this first volume of results from the fieldwork of our Mainz Institut für Völkerkunde. I thank our publisher, Dr. H. Wyss, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for their kind understanding and their active help, which have made this publication possible.

[122]
[128]

Gilgit, Pakistan, May 23, 1955. Adolf Friedrich

/9/

Words of Thanks by the Author

The description of the archeology and ethnology of Tierradentro presented in the following represents the first part of the scientific results of the Colombian journey undertaken with my wife, which was instigated by the Director of the Institut für Völkerkunde of the University of Mainz, Herr Prof. Dr. Adolf Friedrich, and carried out through his negotiations with German and Colombian authorities. The course of the journey and the preliminary summary of scientific results have already been published elsewhere.

/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 361 563 b) The Paez who north of the Rio Ullucus have settled both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, [103] Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T 162 103 P 114 121 P 181 648 101 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present material, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unapproachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

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IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

● 121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

Introduction

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people.

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1]

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs.

[1] Eujenio del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i dos Pláticas*, (publicado) *con Adiciones, Correcciones i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. Paris: 1877.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Former Occupants. "Plasos de Isidos." Huacas

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said [697 they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed 181 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, 162] near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town [103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have [135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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193 The middle *k* of the plural forms is inserted apparently for the sake of euphony.

D.—*The Verb*

[121 114] As explained above, I did not endeavor to collect material for the study of verbs, by reason of the limited time at my disposal. Castillo's data are also very defective, but the paradigms presented by him as examples of conjugations are sufficient to afford an insight into the mechanism of conjugation. We reproduce the principal tenses with the object of showing that the verbal modifications referring to person, mode, and time, consist of a combination of the verbal root with the copulative or substantive verb and a suffix or ending that expresses the person. Our spelling differs somewhat from that used by [114] Friederich Müller,[1] who had no practical experience with the language:

(1) To be:

	Singular	Plural
	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki-t*, I am;	*ku-k-ueš ta-u*, we are;
2d p.	*inui-ng*	*ik-ueš ik-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-a*	*kinâ-(g-)ueš i-a.*
	Perfectum	
1st p.	*anki-kit*, I was;	*ku-k-ueš ta-u iô*, we were;
2d p.	*inui-ng-iô*	*ik-ueš nek-u iô*
3d p.	*kinâ-k-iô*	*kina-g-ueš ta iô.*
	Futurum	
1st p.	*anki-net*, I shall be;	*ku-k-ueš net-ka-u*, we shall be;
2d p.	*inui-neng*	*ik-ueš nek-u*
3d p.	*kinâ-nen*	*kina-k-ueš pât-in.*

(2) To write, or to paint, *fis*:

	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki fis-ats-t*, I write;	*kuê-k-u-fis-ats-ta-u*, we write;
2d p.	*inui fis-ats-eng*	*ik-ueš fis-ats-ku-a*
3d p.	*kina fis-ats-k*	*kina-g-ueš fis-ats-tâ.*

[1] *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. II, 358, Wien, 1882.

/337 cont./

423 communal land, since they have a right to it and anyone can do so. Those who come from elsewhere have a right to the communal land provided that they have grown up there. In Calderas there are people from Lame who own their land because they have cleared the montaña. Nowadays there are no more montañas [591] to clear, and thus persons from elsewhere cannot come in. If a [582] Calderuno marries a woman from another parcialidad, his father-in-law or brothers-in-law must give land /338/ to his wife and the spouse thus enters the community. Thus spoke the informant.

Distribution of implements, stock, and crops

●121 We are basing the distribution of implements, stock, and crops on the research carried out in the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas.

162 The parcialidad of Mosoco has, approximately, some 250 families with an average of 4 children; Lame, some 130 with an average of 3 children; San Andrés, some 200 with an average of 4 children; and Calderas, some 150 families with 3 children on the average also. In Mosoco we studied 25 families, or 10% of the total; in Lame, 8 or 5.3%; in San Andrés, 15 or 7.5%, and in Calderas 55 or 36.6%. In the first parcialidad listed there is one family of a mestizo and another of a white, which are equivalent to 8% of the total families investigated; in the second, two families of whites are represented, equivalent to 25% of the total families investigated; in the third, 26.6% of the total families investigated are represented by two families of whites and two families of mestizos. No family of "whites" lives in Calderas.

/347 cont./

427 earning a small daily wage (the maximum daily wage that they
466 earn is two pesos, but this is exceptional; ordinarily the men
465 earn one peso and the women 80 centavos); not to work on other fincas; to sell the surplus from their crops to the owners of the hacienda themselves, especially if it is coffee; to divide in half or distribute in equal parts with the owner the panela obtained /348/ from the ovens of the hacienda; the wife and children of the tenant farmers are also obliged to work on the hacienda. They have the right to plant any crop except coffee. They earn nothing on Sundays or on religious or national holidays, nor do they receive any remuneration for extra hours of work. They do not get any social services. When the owner is good, he gives them salt and, ordinarily, one "spot" of plantain (a ration of cooked plantains).

427 Many are sons of tenant farmers born on the hacienda itself.
466 Others have suffered in this servitude for more than ten years. Although a few have freed themselves from this situation, most of them resist giving up their rancho and their garden when the owners want to dispossess them. One tenant-farmer informant, when questioned as to whether his situation was good or bad, said: "I have to be satisfied, what else can I do if from childhood I have been here" (on the hacienda). Besides, he figures that if the owner wants to remove him, he will have to pay him
[423] for the improvements in his garden. Here and there a tenant farmer with more than 20 years of usufruct from his piece of land has already refused to pay his rent.

One tenant farmer who has worked for several owners recalls that some were good, but most of them were bad, ambitious, exploiters, who had their laborers work too hard, cheated in the wages, and one even gave them beatings.

Alimentary diet

262 We wish to note that most of the notes concerning the diet
● [121] were gathered in the parcialidad of Calderas.

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
● 121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/358 cont./

434 There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were
● [121] from Mosoco, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contract work; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, sashes, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit
[427] was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are
563 industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to
[439] trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Paez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin.

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more accutturated.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
[174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the
174 ethnology of the present-day peoples.[1] It is also possible to trace the
177 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

● 12/ A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

13/ The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian
133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[1] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orosco, 1875; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38; Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

The area of this study is delimited on the west by the valley of the Patía River and by the Cuembi, Nambi, and Cuaiquer Rivers, and on the east by the divide between the rivers running to the Pacific Ocean and those flowing eastward into the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers.

All this region is cool to temperate throughout the year, the extremes being at Túquerres, which lies at 3,104 m. (9,433 feet) elevation and has a mean temperature of 11° C., and Ancuyá at 1,358 m. (4,380 feet) with a mean temperature of 21° C. The greater part of the population lives between 2,890 m. (about 9,470 feet) with 12° C., as at Ipiales, and 2,020 m. (about 6,630 feet) with 18° C., as at Buesaco.

Farther north, the Cordillera Central forms a great mountain mass at the sources of the Cauca and Magdalena Rivers, the latter delimiting the Cordillera Oriental, which extends toward the northeast, entering Venezuela and stopping at the Atlantic Coast. In the Department of Cauca, the native peoples occupied the altiplanos and the mountain slopes of the central portion of the Andes and of the Cordillera Central and Cordillera Oriental. Some of the mountains are snow-capped, like Coconucos (4,800 m.; 15,746 feet) and such volcanoes as Puracé (4,908 m.; 16,102 feet) and Sotará (4,580 m.; 15,026 feet). There are high páramos, swept by icy winds, where only the frailejón (*Espeletia hartwegiana*) and certain grasses grow. Below these heights, the topography is hilly and grandiose, with a succession of hills, terraces, altiplanos, ravines, cañons, and valleys.

Some tribes, like the *Coconuco* and *Moguex*, live in the cold mountain spurs toward the Cauca River; others, like the *Páez* and *Guanaca*, in the high páramos with a climate like that at Moras (3,670 m.; 12,040 feet), Guanacas (3,518 to 3,750 m.; 11,541 to 12,303 feet), Las Delicias, and other places to the east. The *Popayanense* occupy the temperate Valley of Pubén. The *Pijao* lived in the last mountains of the Cordillera Central toward the Magdalena River, which, like the valley of this river, is low and warm, and extended to the Cauca Valley in the neighborhood of Buga.

The country inhabited by the *Popayanense* at the Conquest has an altitude of 1,760 m. (5,775 ft.) and a mean temperature of 18° C.; the *Páez* in Tierradentro, 1,650 to 2,620 m. (5,774 to 8,595 ft.) and 13 to 17° C.; the *Moguex*, 2,521 m. (8,270 ft.) and 14° C. at Silvia; the *Andaquí* in the region of San Agustín, 1,695 m. (5,561 ft.) and 18° C.; the *Yalcón* and *Timaná*, 1,100 m. (3,608 ft.) and 24° C.; and the *Pijao*, 873 m. (2,864 ft.) and 25° C. at Carnicerías, and 1,700 m. (5,577 ft.) and 18° C. at Pijao (Caldas).

Such differences in climate with the consequent differences in flora and fauna contributed to the variations in economy and culture. The high peaks of the cordilleras and the deep rivers were frontiers between the tribes, clearly separating them from one another—the *Moguex*

7:Hernández de Alba E-5, ¶ (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Today the special industry is the extraction of oil from the "mil pesos" palm. Hunting and war are the principal occupations of the men. They involve very important rites conducted by the captain or cacique, assisted by a deputy or second in command of a group. These rites are performed as follows (Albis, 1934):

In preparing for an attack on the *Witoto*, the deputy captain takes his men to hunt animals, while the women prepare chicha and "caguana." Upon their return, the hunters adorn themselves, dance, and drink chicha, and then go to their houses. The following day they catch "conga" ants, whose bite causes fever, and place them in a palm-leaf mat so that their heads stick out. The captain's wife picks up the mat and lets the ants bite her husband on his legs to make him strong, on his breast to make him brave, on his face to prevent him from sleeping, and on the chin to make him silent. The captains then make the ants bite the back and legs of the women, so that young *Witoto* prisoners will be diligent helpers. Afterward the captains each eat three ants mixed with water. If they have pains, the hunt will be successful. After this, the captain, carrying a turtle shell, speaks to the women, admonishing and scolding them, and then retires to a separate house, where he holds a conference with his men, forecasting the probable outcome of the fight and exhorting the men to avenge those who may be killed by the *Witoto*. That night they hold ritual dances and mimic animals. Two balsa-wood images are placed at the door of the main building and two Indians must pierce them with their spears while running. These two Indians are whipped after their feat by all those present. At dawn they plant a pole in the middle of the yard or square, pour water around it, and dance there until they have made mud, and then spend the day gathering food for the departing warriors. In order to be strong and to capture many young *Witoto*, each warrior has to place an arm in a bag full of "yuco" ants until it is thoroughly bitten. Upon departing, the captain gives his wife a knotted hemp cord (a kind of quipu). She unties a knot every night and thus knows when to expect him back and on what day the fight will take place. The day of the battle she remains in the hut where the hunters stayed the first day; otherwise they will be unable to capture any *Witoto* children. With other women she waits there 3 days for the men to return and then, after leaving there an "araraita," a palm branch, the women return to their homes to prepare more chicha. If the expedition is successful, the men return with great demonstrations of joy, but if it fails, they hit everything and bemoan their luck. The captain's principal wife upbraids her husband. After a community meal, all go home and resume their occupations.

Menstruating women throughout this area remain in a special house weaving hemp. They may have no visitors. At the end of the period, they bathe and return to their dwellings.

At childbirth, a woman must remain at home 3 months, while her husband stays in his hammock, refraining from labor and dieting lest his child die. After 3 months the parents anoint themselves and child with "jagua" fruit and resume normal life.

THE CULTURE OF THE MOGUEX AND PÁEZ

Although the *Moguex* and *Páez* have distinct territories and different dialects, their ethnology may be described together because of the great similarity of their economy with its agricultural basis, their social organization, and their general culture.